background information

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Notes on the Contents of this number

Many readers may feel that the problems of the present time are difficult enough without worrying about the world in the year 2,000. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof". However, Prof. Baade, the author of the fascinating statement on the World in the Year 2,000, makes it clear that the economic trends evident in the world call for study and action today. We are grateful to the Evangelical Academy of Loccum, Germany, for permission to translate and publish Prof. Baade's report which was originally delivered as a lecture at the Academy last Spring.

"The important fact of the present time in Kerala is the emergence of the Communist government", There have been many analyses of the challenge to the Church in Communist countries, but the report from the study group in Kerala, India, is unique. Kerala (formerly Travancore) is a state in the south-west corner of India in which the Communist party came to power as a result of the general elections in the Spring. The constitution of India and the present national government of India prevent the Kerala state government from setting up a one party rule and otherwise cancelling parliamentary democracy. But many problems arise and the situation requires new thinking about the role of the Church in society. The statement of the problems was prepared at an "informal Christian study conference" held at Alwaye, August 14 - 17. A booklet giving more information from the meeting has been published and can be obtained by addressing the World Council of Churches, Department on Church and Society.

The report of the Christian group from Japan which visited China last Summer has been translated from the Japanese and is published here in English for the first time.

The report on the Congress for Promoting Scientific-Atheistic attitudes in the Soviet Union not only contains new information about the revival of this flagging campaign against "religion", but indirectly reveals much about the life of the Church in Russia today.

The Editors

THE WORLD IN THE YEAR 2,000

(A Study of the Economic and Political Factors Involved in Giving Help to the Areas of Rapid Social Change)

By
Professor Fritz Baade,
Institute of International Economy, Kiel.

In 1957 it is important to look forward to the great milestone in world history which we shall soon be approaching: the year 2,000 A.D. We can already make a number of prophecies about the probable development until the year 2,000 with a good deal of accuracy.

The basic factor from the aspect of world economy and world history is the number of people in the world. Assuming that we do not commit mass suicide by means of atomic warfare, there will be 5 milliard* people on the earth in the year 2,000, as compared with 2½ milliard in 1950. For the first time in human history the population of the world will double within a period of only 50 to 55 years. In my little book about the economics of world nutrition (Welternaehrungswirtschaft) I have described this development. 10,000 years ago there may have been about 10 million people in the world. It took 2,500 years for the population to increase from 10 million to 20 million. The last time the population doubled in 100 years (between 1850 and 1950). The next time it will only take 50-55 years.

Another fact is equally certain: the increase in population will be very different in the countries which are already developed from that in the under-developed countries so-called. In the old industrial countries the increase in population will be far less than double; in many countries it will not even be 50%. But in the so-called under-developed countries the population increase will be far more than double. The population of China will have doubled within only 35 years. And China is planning accordingly; it will be able to feed this quickly growing population. That is why there is no propaganda about family-planning or birth-control. In India the population is not increasing quite so fast. The government is ready to do a certain amount of publicity for birth-control, though it has very little success. All told, in the year 2,000 there will be 2½ milliard people in China, Pakistan and Burma alone - i.e. about the same number as the total population of the world today. And this will happen so quickly that the younger people alive today will see it. This is the world in which our children and grandchildren will live. The relationship between ourselves, the proud inhabitants of "developed" countries, and the peoples of countries which we now regard as "under-developed" will be completely changed.

(Ed. note: *A milliard equals one thousand million. In the USA, England and France this is also called a billion.)

Will the Food Supply be Sufficient?

The most important question now is: can the earth feed these 5 milliard people? In my book on world nutrition I have answered this question unreservedly in the affirmative. I am convinced that it will be possible to feed these 5 milliard people, and even to provide them with a higher standard of nutrition. About 150 years ago Malthus was spreading his pessimistic doctrine that the human race tends to increase more rapidly than the means of subsistence. During those 150 years his doctrine has proved completely false, first of all in Robert Malthus' own country, England; but also throughout Europe and North America where for a long time the problem of agrarian policy consists, not in raising the necessary food for a population that is increasing too rapidly, but in selling the agricultural products at a profitable price (since production is increasing much more rapidly still). For the second half of the 20th century I prophesy that there will no longer be any large area of the world in which the population is expanding more rapidly than the means of subsistence; foodstuffs will tend to increase more quickly than people, even in those areas which are causing the population-experts so much anxiety today. In my book I have shown in detail the enormous reserves of food-production still available in the world, even without any new discoveries. It will only be necessary to apply the discoveries which have been known to mankind for decades, centuries, even for thousands of years, and to apply them rather more quickly over the whole world.

I will now quote some figures about this development. Of the 350 million agricultural families in the world today, 250 million have only a wooden plough as their only instrument for tilling the soil - a plough on the same model as that universally used 4,000 years ago! About 90 million of the agricultural families possess an iron plough, and about 10 million families cultivate the ground with modern machinery. The statement that - without any new invention, simply by extending the use of implements which have long been used in agriculture in some parts of the world - over a very large part of the world - food-production will increase more rapidly than the population itself, has good arguments to support it, and has already been proved in some areas. During the first Five Year Plan in India the production of grain increased three times as much as the population (which increased by 4½ million people per annum). In China too during the first Five Year Plan the production of grain undoubtedly increased far more than the population did. A sober analysis of the Twelve Year Plan (now starting in China) shows that during this period the agricultural production will certainly increase much faster than the population - although China is only just beginning to develop the resources of the country, especially irrigation.

People are extremely obstinate in maintaining superstitions. And it is a terrible superstition for a nation to imagine that it has not enough space, or that it needs to conquer more territory in order to maintain its people. Today there is no real economic basis for this illusion and by the year 2,000 there will be even less basis for it. By the year 2,000 people must at last have realised that there is no longer any lack of food in the world, and that no nation needs to take territory from another because it needs more agricultural land. The new sphere that needs to be developed

lies primarily in people's minds, and even more in their hearts. If we decide to make the minds and hearts of men as fruitful as they could and should be, then there would be no problem of nutrition in the world.

The Economic Significance of the Movement of Workers from Agriculture to Industry.

By the year 2,000 the number of industrial workers will have increased to a figure which we can hardly imagine today. If the total population of the world increases by 2½ milliard people, one milliard of them will be workers. Economically there would be no sense in employing any of these additional workers in agriculture. From the purely economic standpoint, even today half of the people working in agriculture (achieving the minimum results on very inadequate space) should be brought into industry. During the next 50 years this cannot be done for all, but an additional milliard workers would have to be employed in non-agricultural occupations, i.e. mainly in industry. The problem of employment will not be solved without difficulty. During the next 25 years some additional people will most probably be employed in agriculture, because the industrial system is not yet sufficiently developed to employ them in industry. But during the 25 years after that this process will to a certain extent be reversed. It will be economically right to employ them all outside agriculture, because the amount of food required in the year 2,000 to feed 5 milliard people (and to feed them better than they are fed today) could be produced by a smaller number of agricultural workers than today.

In a comparatively progressive country like Germany the problem is the same: larger quantities of food will be produced by fewer people. The problem behind the demand for equality for agricultural workers, i.e. the problem of giving agricultural workers a proper share in the increased prosperity of a total economy, can only be solved by reducing the number of people employed in the production of food. This applies also to the "developed" countries. And it applies to the world economy as a whole even more, because in all these countries countless millions of people are working in agriculture and producing incredibly little.

By A.D. 2,000 therefore the number of industrial workers in the world should rise from between 200 or 250 million by an additional milliard. This will transform the aspect of things tremendously, even if my figures are not fully reached. Today most of the people working in industry belong to the white race; they are American, European and Russian. In the year 2,000 the vast majority of the industrial workers in the world will be Chinese, Indians, Japanese and other Asians.

For this additional milliard industrial workers jobs must be created which have the best possible equipment. That means that during the next 50 years the volume of investments must be far greater than the total amount invested in industrial equipment all over the world since the beginning of human history. That means a boom in investments more extensive and of greater duration than has ever been known. For the old industrial countries which live by exporting industrial equipment this means at the same

time a boom in the export of investment goods - assuming that they succeed in arranging the right division of labour with the undeveloped countries. The total capital invested amounts to such an astronomical figure that I seriously hesitate to mention any figures. Instead of doing so I will give a mathematical example: since the currency reform in Germany (1948) we have had exceptionally small amounts to invest in the creation of additional jobs, because a considerable amount of capital had to be used for repairing war damage, making small extensions or developing existing industries. The average amount spent on creating an additional job has been only 5,000 DM. Today it is estimated that we must spend an average of 10,000 to 15,000 DM. to create an additional job. In those industries where automation has already been introduced to a considerable extent (for instance, in parts of the chemical industry) the amounts invested when creating additional jobs are much greater; they may be as much as 100,000 DM. per job. In the South of Italy, an enormous backward and under-developed area of an extremely industrialised country is being systematically industrialised. In Southern Italy the average amount needed to create each additional job is estimated at 10,000 dollars. In an undeveloped area of that kind it is not sufficient to give a man a machine to work on; the communications in the whole area have to be opened up, electric cables must be installed, and the people must be moved from the decayed old villages where they are still living and brought into new industrial settlements.

In the under-developed countries the course taken must to a large extent be the same as in India and Japan. Industrialisation will not take the form of taking people out of their villages and assembling them in industrial districts; the tendency will rather be to bring an industry into the villages which does not need too much modern equipment. If, as in Japan, a whole village is employed in making one single part of a motor-bicycle, the amount of machinery installed in the whole village is comparatively small, and new jobs can be created with much less capital. I had an opportunity to discuss this question in detail with the men responsible for drawing up the Five Year Plan for India. India fully realises that it can only create work for the millions of people who are being brought out of purely agricultural work into industrial production if the process of industrialism is brought about by developing village industries. Even if the average amount invested in creating each additional job were as low as 5,000 DM, it would mean that 5,000 milliard DM (approximately $1,200 milliard) would have to be invested in industry during the next 50 years. But whether the amount invested by the year 2,000 be 2,000 milliard DM, 5,000 milliard DM or 10,000 milliard DM, two things are clear: the amount will be many times greater than the sum at the disposal of the whole world (including all the wealth of America and Europe) for investment today; and in the year 2,000 this sum will be distributed in quite a different way from now between the old industrial countries and the ones which are at present under-developed. Today most of the industrial capital belongs to the white peoples, chiefly in Western Europe and North America. In the year 2,000 most of the industrial capital will belong to coloured people, especially to people in India and China. These trends must be pointed out so that we can see the whole problem of helping these countries to develop in the right perspective.

The Source of New Capital for Economic Development.

What I am now going to say is just the opposite from what is usually expected. It is in answer to the question: who is going to provide this capital? In most of the current studies on the problem of economic help to these countries the view is held, that most of this capital for investment would have to be provided by the old industrial countries. But that is quite out of the question. Firstly, because of the size of the figures which I have just quoted. And secondly, because a glance at a few of the development-schemes of these backward countries shows that most of the required capital is being provided by these countries themselves. In the first Five Year Plan for India (if I recollect the figures correctly) 25 milliard Rupees were invested, mainly in public works. Less than 10% of this capital came from abroad, even if one includes the sums repaid by England against India's sterling credits for the war materials and other goods and services supplied by India during the second world war. These credits were available to the countries within the Colombo Plan only for the purchase of English products; they were not repaid in dollars. The amount contributed by the non-Indian world to the first Indian Five Year Plan was really less than 5%. It is hoped that the percentage will be higher in the second Indian Five Year Plan, because India is now approaching the position (characteristic of many developing countries) in which a large number of projects suddenly become technically and economically mature, and in which the country itself is quite unable to raise the capital required for these projects. But I believe that over 90% of this investment capital, in all probability over 95%, will be raised by these countries themselves. I am again coming to the conclusion that the mechanism by which this is done is unusually simple. It consists simply in increasing the output sixfold of people who have only been producing products worth 50 to 100 dollars a year (which is typical of the agricultural workers in these countries). For thousands of years these people have had no higher social product, whose present value is about 75 dollars. That is all that can be scraped out of the soil with a wooden plough. A man had to consume practically the whole of this himself, together with his family, if he did not want to starve. The possibility of producing, or squeezing out of these people, what Marx calls a "surplus" is extraordinarily limited in such circumstances. I have coined the expression "primitive poverty" for this state of poverty. It is the poverty which is due not to exploitation but to primitive methods of soil-cultivation and food-production. It is characteristic of this "primitive poverty" that it constantly reproduces itself; that is why 250 million agricultural families in the world today are still using the wooden plough. For if one ploughs with a wooden plough and possesses nothing else but a starving ox, even in a thousand years one cannot raise the 100 dollars required to equip oneself with modern agricultural implements.

This vicious circle is now being broken everywhere by the development plans of these countries. If a few simple looms for weaving are set up in the house of a primitive peasant of this type, or machines for making parts of motor-cycles with very modest technical equipment (as in Japan), then the social product of these people will rapidly be doubled, or even

increased sixfold. And the family need not suddenly consume the whole of this increased social product; it is producing a "surplus product". This surplus is usually taken by the State, if it is the State which has supplied the machines. When fixing prices the State aims at a profit, which can then be used to start further industries. I consider it a distortion of this idea when communist development-plans speak as if the investment capital needed for setting up these industries were extorted from the people by restricting consumption. That was true of certain periods of development in Russia, especially of the first Five Year Plan. But in general the real basis for creating capital for industrialisation is to increase what is produced through the work of the people on the lowest level of the national economy. The people only have to forego part of the higher income which results from their greater output. A considerable part of the output can be taken for capital investment, but the level of consumption must at the same time be raised, not lowered. In this way the under-developed people will certainly create an industrial capital during the next 50 years greater than the total amount of capital invested in industry all over the world today.

Moreover some of these countries are in the happy position of having to spend only a very small fraction of their national income on armaments. On the other hand Turkey, which is a member of NATO, has to spend 10% of its modest industrial surplus (about 3 milliard dollars) on armaments, without the military help of America. In my opinion this is one of the basic reasons for the continuous lack of capital in Turkey and the permanent deficit in Turkey's balance of trade. India has to spend less than 2% of its industrial surplus on armaments, and China certainly requires less than 2% for that purpose. Both these countries have great geographical advantages: India is protected on the north by the Himalayas and China by the Gobi desert. It is very improbable that anyone will attack them from the sea, and the biggest guarantee of their security is their enormous area. Thousands of years of experience have taught the Chinese that it is impossible to conquer their country; if the worst comes to the worst, the country swallows up its conquerors. The events in Hungary will also have shown you how difficult it is to conquer them; it may now be governed by a Russian ruling class and occupied for a long time. It is very easy to reckon that the difference between the industrial surplus of India (which is spent on investments) and that of Turkey is exactly the same sum as Turkey spends on armaments.

Consequences of the Revolutionary Changes in the Economic Center of the World.

In the year 2,000 the world will look quite different from what most people imagine. What we call help from East and West for under-developed countries will fit into a much more realistic picture.* In the year 2,000 these countries will be extremely strong. They will most probably form the economic centre of the world; for by that time Europe and America will have given up their position of economic leadership. Neither the East nor the

(Ed. note: *East here refers to Eastern Europe and Russia, not the Far East.)

West can imagine that it is going to subjugate these peoples through any kind of help-programme. Such an idea must appear simply ridiculous to the peoples concerned. The interest of the old industrial countries in this industrial revolution, which is the greatest that has ever taken place in human history, is a long-term interest as experienced producers of investment goods. (There is no need to wait for the second revolution that will be brought about by atomic power and automation). Of course, all these peoples will be glad to receive gifts of industrial equipment, and will be glad to have them on very long-term credits (as long as possible); but the main problem will be to bring our national economies into the right sort of cooperation with the development of the national economies of these "new" countries. For instance, in my view the main danger of Russian policy in this part of the world does not consist in Russia's offering a country a steel-factory or a dam or a textile-factory, or a refinery at 2% interest. That should merely incite us to consider what we could do in order to keep step in the same direction. Much more dangerous for the Western world is Russia's readiness to accept the products of the "new" countries in payment for investment goods. A complete transformation has taken place in the cotton trade. The most important purchasers of Egyptian cotton were formerly Germany and England; today they are China and Czechoslovakia. These bulk purchases can only be handled through payment facilities. In the competition between East and West the decisive factor will be, which adapts itself best to the needs of the "new" countries. For many people this will not be cheering news; as these "new" countries develop they will export fewer agricultural products and raw materials and tea and coffee, and switch over to exporting manufactured goods. Already today half of India's exports are manufactured goods, and of these the simple cotton materials have already ceased to be the main item. India is exporting increasing quantities of bicycles, sewing-machines and electro-technical articles. We are already familiar with this development in Japan. The old industrial countries of the world will have to consider seriously how to work out a long-term economic plan for themselves. In social economy there is a "law of comparative costs". Any country has a good prospect of prosperity if it works on this principle: every country should produce the things for which it is best adapted and equipped, and should import things which other countries can produce better, paying for them with its own exports. If my analysis of the year 2,000 is right, there will be an enormous wave of unskilled industrial manpower falling upon the old industrial countries. Perhaps one day Russia will consider whether it should not purchase most of the textiles required by the Russian people from China and India, and in return supply them with machinery. For a country with a controlled economy that decision is easier to carry out than in a parliamentary democracy, which usually has to face the opposition of those who are directly interested. In my view, the advantage of rapid planning is one of the instruments in the competition between the East and the West, whose importance we are only just beginning to recognise.

Consequently the old industrial countries must stop imagining that they will always be the economic centre of the world, and that the other countries will always be poor and dependent on their help. We cannot influence the ideological development in these countries through any kind of material aid. These countries will certainly all build up a form of economy

in which most of the new industrial capital belongs to the State. Hardly one of these countries has a capitalist class (the nearest approach to this is in India) which is in a position to raise this capital and to plan and think as the situation demands. In this part of the world the best political-economic ideology is the official one of Italy: state ownership of transport, state ownership of the basic industries, state ownership of the heavy industries still to be set up - or also mixed ownership in machine-manufacture and perhaps a larger amount of private initiative in the lighter industries - but in all cases the whole economic development (especially everything concerning foreign trade and currency) under state control. I see no possibility of the Russians being able to influence this development for long in the direction of communism; and I see no possibility either of ourselves, with America, being able to influence this trend in the direction of capitalism.

The Contribution of the West.

Of course we are interested in sharing in this enormous investment programme. And here for the first time I could use the word "help". It is clear that a country like Germany which has always been involved in the economy of the world, primarily through the export of investment goods, must do what every seller of investment goods does: he must allow his customers credits. And the credit facilities which have hitherto been given are certainly only a fraction of those which we shall have to grant in future, in our own interest.

But important as it is to help by lending capital, and essential as it is to increase enormously the amount of capital lent, spiritual help is still more essential. What these countries lack, even more than machinery, is engineers, and what they lack even more than engineers is engineering-instructors who can train engineers in technical schools. Everything that we do in this sphere is an urgent necessity for these countries, but it is also essential in order to preserve our own interest. And this brings me to a weak point in German education: in the sphere of technical training Germany is a very under-developed country. Our own engineering-schools are inadequate even to supply our own industry with the necessary engineers, to say nothing of the tasks which will confront us as the result of automation. We ought to provide these developing countries with engineers and with engineering-instructors; and here a great difference may already be perceived between the Eastern and the Western world. In Russia twice as many engineers are being trained every year as in the U.S.A.; Russia today is probably training more engineers than all the rest of the world put together. The Russian programmes think well ahead. We must put an end to this laissez-faire policy in training engineers in our own country. And this applies not only to engineers. Since the development of these countries depends to a large extent on improving their agricultural basis, we must do incomparably more to train young Germans as experts in tropical and sub-tropical agriculture. In Germany we have not a single institute for this purpose. If you consider that we export 4 milliard DM - worth of agricultural products in the form of machinery, insecticides and artificial manures, and that these agricultural products are mainly used in

tropical and sub-tropical countries, our economic balance-sheet reveals an alarming lack of expert advisers on tropical agriculture.

But still more essential, in my opinion, is the fundamental process of re-thinking that needs to be done. We must realise that with the second half of the 20th century the world is entering an entirely new phase of its development. Until the 20th century, or until 1950, people may possibly have been right in thinking in terms of restriction, scarcity and want. For thousands of years people have warred against each other about their food-supply - hunting-peoples about space for hunting, pastoral peoples about pasture-grounds, agricultural peoples about agricultural land. But if my analysis is right - that in the second half of the 20th century the production of food not only could increase, but actually will tend to increase, more rapidly than the population - then we must get rid of the false ideas which have prevailed for thousands of years of human history, and which cannot be reconciled with Christian thought. We certainly agree that in the age of the hydrogen-bomb the idea that wars are inevitable is irreconcilable with our aspirations; we cannot survive at all unless we succeed in eradicating this idea. We must also get rid of the illusion that there might be fatal competition between the industrial countries of the world. This idea has always been completely stupid. After Germany lost the second world war, for some years England had a complete monopoly of the world market for steel products from table-knives to threshing machines and fly-wheels, engines and motor-cars. In 1947 all the former German markets belonged to England. As you know, during the first years when Germany was occupied-the policy of dismantlement was carried on (in accordance with the ideas of Morgenthau); as you also know, that policy could not be continued, and between 1948 and 1950 Germany's exports of steel goods of all kinds rose from 85 million Marks by 3½ milliard Marks. Those working in these branches of German industry will remember how worried the English were, wondering what would happen to them when the Germans appeared on the market again. But what happened was, that during the same period when Germany's exports rose from nothing to double her prewar export figure, England's exports did not fall off, but rose by 50%. We must therefore get rid of the false notion that there is not room in the world for several industrial nations, which is just as bad as the illusion about limited food-supplies.

And this brings us to realise a fact which is extremely cheering for a conference at an Evangelical Academy: what is it in politics which has hitherto prevented us from being real Christians? It is these illusions! The illusion that perhaps I ought to die, so that my people can live. The false illusion that my people can only live if it annexes certain territory which belongs to some other country. The false illusion that my people can only live if it can export, and that it cannot export unless I can prevent another country from exporting. The false illusion which we may ultimately express in the primitive formula (which is complete nonsense), "The rich get richer because we poor people get poorer". The truth is precisely the contrary, and it is particularly true of the future. The rich of this world (i.e. the highly-developed industrial countries) can only remain rich and get richer if those countries which have hitherto been poor no longer remain poor.

(Editor's note: Recent information from China indicates that the government is seriously worried about the rapid increase of population and their inability to provide enough food for their people; they are also considering measures of birth control. This information would challenge Prof. Baade's interpretation of the situation in China at a fundamental point).

II. Communist Rule in Kerala and Christian Responsibility

(The following is a statement of findings adopted at an informal study conference of a group of Christians in Kerala, India, meeting August 14-17, 1957).

1. Christian Basis

Christianity believes that the world has been created by God. But the world rebelled against the divine purpose of creation. To redeem the fallen world, God has entered history in the person of Jesus Christ, His own Son. By the death and the resurrection of Jesus Christ a new age is inaugurated and a new world is born. Christ reigns as the Lord of history, and continues to work towards the final establishment of His Kingdom.

It is by the law of God that the world is preserved. God under His divine law has sanctioned the State to function in order to be an instrument for the preservation of the world. So the State is responsible to God. It has to keep its power under the law of God.

Man is of supreme worth and dignity as he is created in the image of God and as he is one for whom Christ died. He is also created to be in relationship with his fellowmen. It is from these acts of creation and redemption by God, that man derives his fundamental inalienable rights of freedom and justice. The State is responsible to protect freedom, promote justice and maintain order. Hence the State becomes responsible both to God and to man.

The Christian is in this world, but not of it. He is called to be loyal to the State, but this loyalty is conditioned and judged by his citizenship in the Kingdom of God which is ever present in any situation and which will be fully realised in the coming of Christ.

What is the form and structure of a responsible State which will keep in balance order, freedom and justice? One cannot find an absolute answer to it. In the present historical situation, parliamentary democracy gives the nearest answer. It functions under the rule of law and is maintained by the will of the people. The existence of an effective and responsible opposition and the functioning of an independent judiciary are safeguards against the corruption and abuse of power inherent in any human ordering of society or system of government. Today in India, it must be emphasised that parliamentary democracy cannot be true to its whole purpose if it does not bring about effective and rapid social change towards social justice. In other words, parliamentary democracy must be dynamic enough to ensure the early realisation of a Welfare State under the rule of law.

11. The Communist Rule in Kerala and the Christian Attitude

Implication for Democracy. In the light of the above stated convictions and principles, the present situation in Kerala has to be examined.

The important fact of the present time in Kerala is the emergence of the Communist Government. Does the Communist Government in Kerala offer a threat to parliamentary democracy and to social change within its framework? For an answer we need to look into the positive and negative aspects of the situation.

Positive Aspects

1. The commitment of the Communist Party and Government to work the Constitution of India.

2. The presence of a strong Central Government which is capable of keeping the Communist Government within the democratic Constitution.

3. The present signs of possible change in the philosophy of Communism arising out of the awareness of corruption of power under Stalin and the policy statement of Mao, leading to a liberalisation of the system.

Negative Aspects

1. The basic philosophy of Communism, i.e., Marxism-Leninism is totalitarian and the Communist Party in Kerala has restated its faith in Marxism-Leninism.

2. The history and the working of the Communist Party in other parts of the world shows no deviation from this basic belief.

3. The Communist Party in Kerala in its declared policy has not made any affirmation of its faith in parliamentary democracy. On the other hand, it has on several occasions characterised parliamentary democracy as a bourgeois institution.

We think that the negative aspects outweigh the positive and pose a real threat to parliamentary democracy.

It has been said by some that the people of Kerala have returned the Communists to power in the State with the awareness of the dangers of Communism and that they have done so only because they felt they could try the Communist Party under the existing safeguards of the democratic Constitution of India. In their opinion, such experiment can be safely tried in a few States to effect much needed social changes, without jeopardising democracy. Advocates of this policy would like to make it clear that they do not think it safe or good for democracy, for Communists to come to power in the Centre or in the majority of States. Most of us however feel that the whole approach is based on an inadequate understanding of the nature of Communism. To deliberately try the Communists in a few States is dangerous, since the Communists will not allow themselves to be used for such limited purposes. And it will help them to come to power also in the Centre. This does not mean that we should not recognise the facts of the situation in Kerala and use the present Communist Government for effecting necessary social changes.

Attitude to the Communist Government. Inasmuch as the Communists have been returned to power by constitutional means, the Communist Government deserves discerning support. Mere anti-Communism without any positive approach will not be helpful in the situation. While one cannot forget the inherent dangers of Communism, the role of those who believe in democracy is that of responsible opposition. Each measure of the Government will have to be judged on its own merits on the basis, how far it furthers national goals. We must warn however that any support of the Communist Government should not be confused with the support of the Communist Party.

The Christian responsibility in the present political situation in Kerala may be summed up as follows: As the Communist Party has democratically come to power and formed the Government, it is our duty : 1) to submit to the authority of its Government and co-operate as citizens in its efforts for the protection of freedom, the maintenance of order and the promotion of justice; 2) to oppose the Government through constitutional methods and through the means of democratic parties, whenever the Government infringe on fundamental human rights; 3) to suggest to the Government through proper channels our constructive ways and means of meeting out measures of justice to the people; 4) strengthen the hands of democratic parliamentary parties to act as responsible opposition in the Legislature; 5) work for the eradication of the evils within the democratic parties and help them to secure the majority of votes in the next election.

111) Government Policies and Programmes - An Evaluation

We should assess the various policies and programmes of the Government and give our support or register our opposition on the merits of the specific issues. What are the present policies and programmes of the Government which need our special attention now? Four major areas may be mentioned: 1) Police Department; 2) Administration; 3) Land Reforms; and 4) Education.

1. Police Department. A reformed police code is long overdue. Corruption and abuse of power have been rampant in the Department. Police was very often used in favour of the privileged class. Recognising the fact that some laws are of a class character, the police interference with the person and property of the people were excessive. We therefore welcome the attempt of the Government to humanise the police.

But certain directives issued by the Communist Government to the police have resulted in their non-interference in some situations of lawlessness in society. As a consequence, there is today a state of lack of security among certain sections and classes of people. It is quite possible that the police have been asked to discriminate between sections of the people. In view of this we would like to impress on the Government the following :

a) Law must be impartial to all;

b) Discrimination in the execution of law is a denial of the rule of law;

c) The Executive is trespassing into the territory of the Legislature if it makes and unmakes laws without reference to the Legislature or without deriving any authority to do so from it;

d) Without police protection, the individual is often driven to a situation where he has to defend himself by concerting his own measures; and this will seriously affect the confidence of the people in law.

2. Administration. We recognise corruption in the State administration and the evils resulting from its over-centralisation. Special mention must be made of the unlimited power of the Collector in whom rested once both the judiciary and executive powers of a district. No doubt, the tradition of the civil service with regard to adherence to law and detachment from local prejudices has developed a certain confidence in the impartiality of the old administrative system. But such concentration of power in

certain persons in the top-rank has resulted in red-tapism, bureaucratic methods and absence of popular participation. It needs change especially when a democratic Welfare State is our ideal. We are glad to note therefore that the present Communist Government in Kerala has stated clearly their determination to reorganise the administration.

We do not have any clear official statement as to what the Government proposes to do in the matter of reorganisation of administration. But gathering from the speeches of ministers and the Party Manifesto, we understand that the Government is intending to decentralise administration. While welcoming the move, we would like to point out both the constructive and destructive possibilities of such a policy:

Constructive possibilities:

(1) It will bring the common people into responsible relationship with the Government administration;

(2) It will check bureaucratic methods and abuse of power of administrative officers; and

(3) It will help build the structure of democracy from the bottom.

Destructive possibilities:

(1) Local prejudices, such as caste and communal prejudices, will stand in the way of proper administration of justice;

(2) Because of the lack of tradition in democracy, there is the possibility of degeneration of democratic principles and abuse of power;

(3) If the local bodies are invested with civil and criminal jurisdiction there is every likelihood of their developing into peoples' courts as in Communist countries, which would result in denial of impartial justice;

(4) The tendency to use it as a machinery for Party propaganda; and

(5) Decentralised communities often seem to have less sensitiveness for fundamental human rights and values.

3. Land Problem. It has been widely acknowledged for a long time that a redistribution of land is one of the initial steps to be taken for building a socialistic pattern of society. But the urgency of the problem is not shared by the State Governments in spite of the directives given by the Planning Commission. We recognise that the P.S.P. Government of Travancore-Cochin initiated a progressive measure of land reform in Kerala. In this connection we sincerely welcome the Agrarian Reforms Bill proposed by the Kerala Government, a skeleton of which was recently published.

The basic principle of every land reform should be that land should go to the tiller. We are glad that this principle as well as the fixation of ceiling for land-holding, provision for fixity of tenure and equity of compensation have been recognised in the proposed Bill. But it is not clear whether the Bill safeguards the legitimate interests of the small land-holder. It must be emphasised that no land reform should adversely

affect production from land. We hope that the Bill in its final form will contain necessary provisions dealing with the questions of the charges create on the lands that come under the scope of the Act.

We note that the proposed Bill exempts land owned by the Churc and other religious institutions from the purview of the Act. As we believe that the Churches should be in the vanguard of all progressive measures, we urge the Churches to express their readiness to bring the land owned by them under the scope of the Act, regarding fixity of tenure and to enter into conversation with the Government regarding suitable provisions in the Bill about ceiling and compensation which will do justice both to the just principles underlying the Bill and to the requirement of adequate provision for the religious and charitable institutions involved.

4. Education and Culture. The Conference discussed the policy of the present Government towards education and other cultural activities of the State with particular reference to parliamentary democratic principles.

While we welcome the readiness of the Government to shoulder greater responsibility in the field of education and culture, it needs to be cautioned that in order to preserve and develop the democratic set-up, voluntary agencies should be given scope and encouragement in this sphere. The role of the voluntary agencies in cultural sphere needs particular emphasis in the present context of the Government assuming more and more powers in the process of becoming a Welfare State. One needs to be aware of the danger of the State reserving to itself the monopoly of running schools and controlling cultural life. The creation of statutory bodies responsible to the legislature has thus become imperative for the control of such volunta agencies and cultural bodies to avert the danger. These statutory bodies wil also provide a channel through which the State can finance such activities without executive control. The example of the University Grants Commission is to the point.

Education Bill. A separate statement on the Bill is published by the Conference. Here we are dealing with one aspect of the Bill, namely its implications for the relation between freedom and control in a democratic Welfare State.

The present Education Bill expresses the State's increasing sense of responsibility in the matter of education. We also see in the Bill the possibility of reducing the communal bias prevalent in the present system and diffusing a sense of national solidarity among the teacher and the taught. The malpractices that have become common among a section of the management of schools have made the introduction of some legislation inevitabl It may however be repeated in this connection that in the interests of parliamentary democracy any change in the educational system should allow scope for the running of schools by voluntary agencies with and without State aid.

The cause of education will be best served by the promotion of an autonomous statutory Education Board entrusted with responsibility of education in the State. Such a body will be free from political interference and save education from the fluctuations in political life.

IV. The Democratic Parties of Kerala.

It is part of our political responsibility to strengthen the democratic political parties in Kerala so that they may act as responsible opposition today and successfully contest the next election. The present democratic parties can inspire confidence in the people only when they develop proper leadership.

There is too much cynicism in Kerala regarding democratic political parties and their leaders. In part it indicates a healthy reaction against Utopian political hopes of an earlier day and a growth of political realism after independence. It also expresses a necessary condemnation by the people of corruption that prevails in our political life. But a sense of frustration has become so deep-rooted in Kerala today that the people suspect the integrity of political leaders without proof and exaggerates the picture of corruption. This saps the moral nerve of our politicians and of our political life. At present, the revival of healthy democratic political life requires that we see the weaknesses of democratic parties but at the same time not make them the means of increasing cynicism. It is in this spirit that we list some of the weaknesses of the Congress and P.S.P. Parties in Kerala.

The Congress

1. The Congress is unduly influenced by vested interests and commercial and industrial undertakings.
2. Questionable methods were used by some adherents of the Party to achieve their ends in elections.
3. It has compromised on the issue of communalism and casteism as is evident from the choice of candidates in the last Elections.
4. The people feel that several of its leaders do not pay sufficient attention to character.
5. The abandonment of the Party by sincere and dedicated workers associated with it during the struggle period.
6. The tendency in the Congress to identify itself with and speak as the nation; its dependence on certain persons like Nehru.
7. Lack of discipline and the influences of factionalism.
8. Increasing lack of mass contact.

The Praja Socialist Party

1. Lack of discipline both in leadership and among ranks.
2. Alliance of the Party with the Communists in 1953 Elections and with the Muslim League in the last Elections.
3. Its inadequate mass contact and mass basis.
4. Inability to raise funds.
5. The ideological conflicts and split of the socialist force into two groups.
6. The polarisation that has taken place in the State into two main groups - the Congress and the Communists.

The Conference feels the necessity for the present democratic parties to play the role of healthy opposition and for their criticisms to be well informed. For this it is essential for the opposition to develop systematic and realistic study of the various political, economic and social problems. The opposition should also have a definite programme to keep in touch with the electorate and explain the various problems, policies and attitudes.

The political mind of the people of Kerala is dominated by a deep-rooted communal outlook and by caste prejudices. This has adversely affected the growth of true democratic forces in the State. Even the Communist Party made full use of this factor as a part of its election tactics. It is important to rid the body politic of such a deep-rooted outlook and develop and strengthen genuine democratic forces. The starting of non-communal secondary organisations for cultural, social and educational activities will contribute appreciably to the growth of secular and non-communal politics.

The other factor in the body politic is the apathy of the members of the middle-class to take their political responsibilities seriously and even to exercise their franchise. The democratic parties and institutions should start study circles and develop other means of political education which will dispel this apathy.

V. The Christian Responsibility

Christians should acknowledge with a sense of guilt their failure to be concerned with the social ills in the existing order. This failure in the past should not be made an excuse for not doing the right thing now; on the contrary it should urge us to greater concern for social justice expressed through a fuller participation in the political life of the State. But this need should be distinguished from the unfortunate tendency among some ecclesiastical authorities to identify themselves with any one political party and to issue specific directives to the members of the Church to vote for a particular party. This should not be misunderstood to mean that they have no right or responsibility to affirm certain values or broad principles with which political parties or programmes will be tested and preferred. For instance, in the present situation in Kerala they have a great responsibility to help the people to take a stand against communalism as well as against totalitarianism. Citizenship groups or study circles may be organised at parish levels for promoting intelligent understanding of the tenets of dynamic democracy, the rights and privileges of the citizen under the Constitution and the duties of responsible citizenship.

The need for a group of competent persons to study together the proposed legislative measures of the Government from time to time and to formulate a Christian critique was keenly felt by the Conference. It is hoped that the Kerala Christian Council will find it possible to sponsor such a group.

III. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN CHINA AS SEEN BY JAPANESE CHRISTIANS.

(A group of 14 Japanese Christians representing the National Christian Council of Japan visited the mainland China for about a month, leaving Japan on 23rd April 1957. Upon returning three of them were invited by the editor of the magazine "Fukuin-to-Sekai" (The Gospel and the World) to participate in a round-table discussion on the subject: "The present and future prospect of the Chinese Church". The proceedings of this round-table discussion appeared in the July issue of "The Gospel and the World". The following is an excerpt from it.)

What Impressed Them the Most?

Generally speaking, the Japanese churchmen were impressed by the apparent stability of the Chinese society today and by the trust which the Chinese people seem to have in their leaders, although the level of their living does not seem to have risen very much since before the revolution. A professor of the Nanking Theological Seminary told them that one of the greatest problems facing Christianity in China today was how to evangelise those who are "happy and contented".

It is true that there is a very severe law against any attempt of counter-revolution and a measure to enforce it. Furthermore, since last year the government adopted a policy of pai chia chêng ming ("Let diverse schools of thought contend"), which seems to have helped relax the internal tension considerably. Everywhere they went the Japanese Christians were told that people were not only entirely free but encouraged to express their opinions as long as they were constructive.

The Japanese were profoundly impressed by the vitality with which China was moving along:- For example the way in which the natural resources which had been so far exploited only by a military clique, a financial clique or by foreign powers, are now being developed by their own government. It looks as if the whole nation has been given a certain direction into which to move. At the same time the crudeness of the clothing is quite noticeable. Both men and women wear very much the same sort of clothes, something like a uniform, and one cannot tell from their looks who is rich and who is poor. But they all are "dead serious" about their business.

In cities like Shanghai and Peking one often finds old people sitting at the entrance of their houses doing nothing. Or at many Taoist temples one finds masses of people worshipping before idols. When one thinks of the task of leading millions of these people in building a new nation one can appreciate how much patience it must take for the government to make any headway. All in all the delegation from Japan thought that the present regime was going ahead with a great deal of self-confidence.

Engineering Projects, The Economic Situation, and Problems of Morality.

When they were shown some of the civil engineering projects, such as a great bridge over the river Ch'ang-Chiang or the great dam and hydro-

electric power plant just outside of Peking, the Japanese were struck not so much by the size of these great projects as the attitude of the Chinese toward them. The Chinese were extremely enthusiastic about them and profoundly proud of them. This genuine delight which they seem to have in showing these projects came from the simple fact that these had been accomplished by the Chinese people themselves. One of them pointed out that the idea to make the water of this river available to the inhabitants of Peking had existed for more than 1000 years, but had never been realised until the present regime came into power after the revolution.

As for the general economic situation of China, the visiting Japanese were struck by the poor quality of things of every-day use such as toilet articles, matches and the like and the scarcity of mechanical tools and gadgets. One of them remembers seeing a truck and a road construction machine only once in the country side. Even in cities like Peking and Shanghai automobiles are still very scarce. Or, again, in the department stores they noticed the price of merchandise is much higher than in Japan. They asked in Hong Kong whether there was a shortage of goods in China and were told that, on the contrary, much is being produced but primarily for export rather than domestic consumption. Many items are exported abroad through Hong Kong, i.e. the government is doing everything it can to obtain foreign exchange with which to build up the broad economic basis of the nation.

"We visited a prison in Peking. Evidently most of the visitors from abroad are guided to see this prison. The first thing that surprised us was the fact that no door had any lock on it. We were told that there were altogether 1500 - 1600 inmates, but they are all working in flour mills and textile mills. They are thus being given some occupational training while at the same time they are given time for self-examination to realise that what they had done was against the interest of their country as a whole. The inmates are also encouraged to form small groups in which to engage themselves in self-criticism. They all wear a uniform which gives you an impression that they are factory workers rather than prisoners. Even their facial expression is cheerful and the prison authorities seem to be confident as to what they are doing". The Japanese delegates as a group seem to be agreed that they can see how the government and the people of China are cooperating with each other to elevate the level of social morality of their nation. One added an interesting observation saying: "Even the students seem to be more unsophisticated and serious-minded about their business and are not at all cynical as many of the Japanese students nowadays are."

Religious Liberty and Its Political Implications.

"It is difficult for the visitors from abroad really to know what sort of religious life the masses of people are leading." So says the spokesman for the delegation. In Peking they had a conference with the head of the Bureau of Religions according to whom there are two limitations to the religious policy in China today: 1) with regard to the counter-revolution, i.e. the government cannot help interfering with any religion when it engages itself in counter-revolutionary activities. The government draws a

sharp line between religion and politics and assures a complete freedom insofar as religion is concerned. But the moment this boundary line is stepped over to enter into the political sphere, then there can be no freedom whatsoever. 2) With regard to superstition. This has very little to do with Christianity, but in the case of Buddhism and Taoism they have an enormous amount of superstitious elements in them, even though they insist that they are instructing people rationally. And if their superstitious practices reach the point of injuring people's life and their safety, then the government is bound to interfere with them.

From this official interpretation of religious freedom in China, the Japanese Christians drew a comparison between the two countries. They felt that in Japan they do have freedom of religion, but what it really amounts to is not much more than indifference to religion on the part of the government. In China, however, it looks to them that there is a sense in which the government gives a protection to organised religions. To be more specific, it is prohibited by the law for any religious organisation to engage in evangelistic activities in public places such as schools, government offices and hospitals. They have perfect freedom to do evangelistic work in any outdoor places, although such is seldom practiced. At the same time it is prohibited by the law for outsiders such as Communists to interfere with church activities, which means, though negative, the government does protect religious organisations.

Today in China there are some 2,500,000 to 3,000,000 Roman Catholics, 700,000 to 800,000 Protestants, besides an enormous number of Buddhists and an appreciable number of Moslems and Lamaists. The last mentioned are closely related to Tibet. China is making a tremendous effort to develop Tibet and therefore the problem of the Tibetan minority is to her a serious one. To discriminate against any one religion is immediately interpreted as discriminating against the group which adheres to that particular religion, and will have, politically, a very unfortunate repercussion. For this reason all religions are treated very carefully by the government. To put it bluntly, religions are not protected by the government for the sake of religions but rather for political reasons. There are many temples, Buddhist and Taoist, which are visited daily by tens of thousands of pious pilgrims.

Even from a much more pragmatic point of view, in China people adhere to one religion or another and therefore it is a matter of practical impossibility to suppress religion completely. In Peking there is a school called "Institute of Studies of Minority Races". There the government is training leaders and administrators for Mongols, Tibetans and a number of other minority groups. In this school there are chapels right on the campus in which various religions of those minority groups can severally worship according to their own rites. The head of the Bureau of Religions stated that they as Communists have not forsaken the Marxist principle with regard to religion per se. They are not interested in promoting religion at all. They simply recognise the religious freedom and, if necessary, protect organised religions as long as they are what the Chinese people want to believe in, for it is the duty of the government to protect their human rights.

Christianity in China: A General Impression.

Generally speaking, the Japanese group reports, not many young people are found in church services. In places like Shanghai the churches are attended by a large number of people, but not many youth. No evangelistic work is allowed in kindergartens or schools. The attendance of Sunday school is not very large. These indicate a real problem for the churches in China. As has been mentioned already, the government is taking the position that once Marxism penetrates into the life of people, the need for religion will automatically disappear. Theological seminaries are inadequate to meet the need of the churches both in terms of their number and also in terms of the substance of their education. The Chinese Christian leaders are the first ones to recognise the seriousness of this situation. They are confronted with a tremendous difficulty in training the future leaders of the Church.

What sort of policy is being followed in this respect? The Japanese Christians are puzzled at the seeming lack of concern about this problem on the part of the Chinese churchmen. Meeting with a group of young people in Shanghai, the Japanese delegates expressed their joy to meet Chinese youth because in other places they had seldom seen young men in the church, to which the Chinese youth replied by asking why there was not a youth in the delegation from Japan! They then told the Japanese churchmen that recently there had been some university students who turned toward Christianity, but the pastors generally were not too well informed about the problems of the youth. On their own part there were too many things going on to take up their time so that the youths found it extremely difficult to attend the church on Sundays. And yet the Chinese leaders do not seem to be concerned about this problem as keenly as they should be.

The Three-Self-Movement (san tzu yün tung) is not an ecumenical or supra-denominational movement, but rather a movement within the framework of denominationalism. But apart from the Three-Self-Movement one cannot understand the Church situation in the new China, for it is this movement that is the driving force behind the construction of many new churches.

It is impossible to understand the attitude of the Chinese Church to the foreign missions without taking into consideration the political background. It is only within recent years that China has asserted her independence. Up until a few years ago the political power of China was inseparably bound to foreign powers. Recently China has finally resolved the problem of extraterritoriality (which in Japan had been resolved early in the Meiji period) and consequently there has risen a tide of nationalism within the Christian Church as well as in the nation at large. Thus viewed, the independence of the Chinese Church is an independence fostered by external circumstances. Of this the Chinese Christians are keenly aware. At this point, however, they seem to think the political problem and the problem of the Church are one and the same.

On the other hand it can be easily detected that there is something too one-sided or unbalanced in the attitude of the Chinese churches to the missions. For example, - take the financial aspect only -, the churches

are now supported to a large extent by the free offerings of their members and by the income from the lands and buildings which are owned by the churches, supplemented by a grant from the government. Where did they get those lands and buildings in the first place? Of course, they inherited them from the missions and, furthermore, most of the members who are now supporting the churches with their offerings are older people who are more often than not those who had been converted to Christianity by the missionaries. Now the leaders of the churches today are undoubtedly aware of these facts, but they deliberately do not mention them. They only emphasise that they have become independent of the missions. This too one-sided emphasis strikes the Japanese as unsound. It is well that they have severed their relationship with the missions, but after all it was not at their own initiative but rather they were forced to do so as a result of the Communist revolution. For this reason the Japanese seem to sense that the Chinese churches do not really have the sense of being fully independent, standing on their own strength. They have severed their relationships with the missions, but are now depending upon the government. They have merely changed from one horse to another to ride on.

The Japanese Christians report that the Chinese Christians categorize missionaries into three types: 1) Those who are obviously backed up by the political powers of Europe or America. It is recognised that there have been very few of this type. 2) Those who came to China as missionaries with a genuine sense of calling and goodwill, but in the end were drawn into colonialising China more or less as tools of political powers behind them. Most of the missionaries are regarded to belong to this type. 3) An extremely small number of missionaries who dare to oppose when such is warranted to the policies of their respective countries in the interest of the true Christian evangelism in China.

In Nanking the Japanese churchmen had a conversation with a woman professor of the Nanking Theological Seminary. She was quite emphatic in her opinion that most of the missionaries in the past had been in China in the interest of the colonial policy of their respective countries. The Japanese argued that possibly there might have been a few of those missionaries, but it is hardly conceivable that the great majority of missionaries came for any other purpose than simply to spread the Gospel. The debate on this point was warm. But finally this lady professor said: "If they were genuinely interested in spreading the Gospel, why did they not protest against their own governments for what Great Britain and the United States were then doing in China. The fact that they did not protest was a good enough indication of what their real intention had been". The Japanese were hard pressed to retort to this argument, it is reported.

Some Crucial Problems Related to the Three-Self-Movement in the View of the Japanese Delegates.

1) In the practical area evangelism has been completely banned in institutions like schools, hospitals and others. Not many young people come to church. How to tackle this problem in the future is one of their serious problems. 2) Theologically speaking - and this is not exclusively

the case in China but universally in all countries under the Communist domination - what is the place of the Christian Church in a Communist society? Heretofore the Church has developed by adapting herself to the feudalistic society and to the capitalistic society, but now how can the Church find her place in a Communistic society? 3) Finally, the ancient Chinese culture has continued to exist to this day and there is a sense in which the old Chinese spiritual culture is being restored in the Communist China. If so, how does the Church face up to this problem of culture contact between the West and the indigenous Chinese culture?

The Position of the Church in Relation to Communism.

According to Bishop K. H. Ting, the principal of Nanking Theological Seminary, the administration of the present government is the best in all the history of China and therefore it is not sufficient for the Church to merely offer negative criticism to the government, but rather it has an obligation to give more positive cooperation, and in a number of things the Church has much to learn from the Communists. Then Bishop Ting quotes Jesus' command in the parable of The Good Samaritan: "Go thou and do likewise" and says that Jesus' injunction is "Do likewise" and not "believe likewise", i.e. we must learn from the Communists how to act, although in faith we must stand on our own ground.

As for the churches' attitude toward the government a Mr. Lee of the YMCA made this statement: "We Christians do not adhere to the Marxist ideology and are fully aware that our government is not favourably disposed toward religion. However, when we look at what our government is doing, we cannot deny that it is a good government and a government for the people. Even to us Christians the Communists are fair; they deal with us with integrity and therefore we, too, have trust in our government and support it". The government and the Church, each standing on its own ground, do cooperate with each other when cooperation is warranted and part company with each other when separation is in order. The Japanese observers were worried that in order to keep this kind of relationship with the government the Church seems to tend to lean more heavily upon the government than vice versa. It is right for the Church to support the present government, but no matter what one says, this government is also a government made up of mortal men and therefore is liable to make serious mistakes. It is therefore wondered whether the Church in its present relationship to the government is always capable of making an independent and autonomous judgment on what the government does. On this point Mr. Lee assured the visitors that the Chinese Christians were fully aware of such a danger and are on guard against making such a mistake.

The Japanese Delegates' Reflection Upon the Japanese Church Situation in the Light of the Contemporary Chinese Situation.

How the Church fares in her relationship to the government of the nation-state depends upon how far the indigenous Church has developed since the days of foreign missions. The same thing can be applied to the situation in Japan, i.e. in Japan, too, the Christians must strive

for as early an economic independence of their Churches as possible. As long as they depend on the foreign missionary boards for financial aid and are contented with an easier way of having their churches supported, they are bound to remain indecisive and wavering. The delegates seem to have gained a profound insight into this problem through conversation with the Chinese Christians. If the Chinese or the Japanese Church is really and thoroughly a "Christian" Church standing on its true foundation, then it ought to be able to criticise the missions where they were at fault, but at the same time be grateful for the good done by them for the Chinese or the Japanese people. Japanese Christians had not realised how complex a problem their relationship to the missions was until they visited China. Now they seem to know that the churches in Japan also must take a risk, otherwise they can never achieve a real spiritual independence and autonomy. The answer is, of course, not simple. But the Church in China was compelled to stand on her own feet as a result of the revolution. Without a revolution they would not have done that. If the churches in Japan are really serious about their independence and autonomy, then some time or other they, too, have to make a clear-cut decision and burn the bridge behind them or else they will never be able to attain their independence.

Bishop Ting said that there cannot be inter-dependence where there is no independence. Those who are dependent cannot enter into the relationship of inter-dependence. The Japanese may at this moment question whether the Chinese Church is really and truly independent, but they do admit that it is moving in the right direction.

Future of the Fellowship Between the Chinese and Japanese Churches.

Now that a door has been opened for the churches in China and Japan to restore their fellowship, what do the Japanese churchmen think that they should do in order to further and intensify it? What, if any, do they think the Japanese Christians must do for the churches in China? The churches in Japan, through her visiting delegation, proposed the following:

1. Since they have been invited by the Chinese Church this time, they would like to invite them to come to Japan in the near future.

2. They would like to exchange theological students and, to begin with, Japan would like to invite some Chinese students to study in Japan.

3. They would like to explore the possibility for the exchange of theological professors.

4. And also the feasibility of exchanging theological and religious literature.

In response to these propositions, on the part of the Chinese churches there was no problem with regard to Proposition No. 1, as soon as the Japanese were ready to receive them. On Proposition No. 2 they expressed their hope that such may become possible, but there was no clear-cut answer as to how to materialize it immediately. On Proposition No. 3 the Chinese

expressed a serious interest in it. On Proposition No. 4 they said that for the moment at least it is more likely that they will have to receive a large number of books from Japan, but there are very few Chinese who can read Japanese and they asked for suggestions on the kind of books which the Japanese thought were worthy of translation into Chinese.

IV. The De-Evangelizing of Russia in this Generation

(Report of a recent Conference on Questions of Scientific and Atheistic Propaganda held by the Association for Promoting Political and Scientific Knowledge in the Soviet Union. This summary appeared in the latest issue of the periodical "Voprosy Filosofii" (Philosophical Problems) the leading publication of the Communist Party in Moscow dealing especially with problems of Soviet ideology).

The All-Union Association for Promoting Political and Scientific Knowledge recently held an "All-Union conference" or "seminar", in which over 350 propagandists, lecturers and scientists participated. The theme of this seminar was the task of scientific-atheistic propaganda today, its content, methods and forms.

The following is a summary of the opening speech by the president of the Association, Prof. M. G. Mitin.

The significance of scientific-atheistic propaganda in the USSR is continually growing. The organization of public conferences on atheism, previously the work of the Ministry of Cults, is now handled by the All-Union Association, which is responsible to the party and the people.

The communistic education of working people is particularly important since religious prejudices still envenom the spirit of many workers, preventing their whole-hearted and active collaboration in the construction of a communist society. The fight against religion must now assume the character of an ideological struggle of a materialistic scientific philosophy against the anti-scientific religious conception of life. However, offensive actions against the Church, the clergy and religious-minded citizens are incompatible with the general line of the party.

In spite of the decision of the Central Committee of the communist party of the USSR concerning the strengthening of atheistic propaganda, the number of conferences on atheism, and their importance within the programme of the Association, has been considerably reduced. Some local leaders of lectors have not understood the significance of the decree issued by the Central Committee on 10th November 1954, and have therefore weakened in their fight against the survival of religion, because they evidently share the opinion that it is not possible to fight against religion without also fighting the clergy. They have proved themselves to be incapable of organising anti-religious work in new forms.

Another reason for the failure of anti-religious propaganda to develop fully its possibilities is the widespread false conception that religion will die out by itself simply because of the prevalence in the country of the socialist ideology. To undervalue the significance of scientific-atheistic propaganda, is to contribute to the creation of favourable conditions for the spreading of religious ideology. During recent times "church people" have considerably strengthened their activity. Thus there are no longer church services without a sermon, the task of which is to revive interest in religion. The divine meaning of rites in church services is particularly stressed, as well as the necessity to perform religious rites in the best possible way. The Roman Catholic Church has also revived its activity in the Baltic countries, in the western sections of the Ukraine and in White Russia. But the most active groups are the different sects, which sometimes hide their political activity against people behind a religious mask.

These and many other facts prove that religion is not dying out. On the contrary, here and there it is reviving as a result of the fact that there has been a relaxation in the fight against it.

The words of Lenin should be kept constantly in mind : "The slightest weakening of the influence of socialist ideology must inevitably lead to conditions favourable to the increase of the influence of bourgeois ideology."

In recent years no serious errors have been committed by scientific-atheistic propaganda, and the feelings of religious people have been hurt less and less. But on the whole the ideological and scientific level of anti-religious conferences has been low: they have been unable to deal effectively with the actual tasks which are often presented in a too abstract way and thus fail to reflect sufficiently the immediate needs.

There are many evidences that those responsible for organizing the conferences are reacting not to life, nor to the realities of socialism (which is itself the best propagandist against the religious dogmas of the unchangeability of the world, the immutability of social relations, etc.) but are "prisoners of their own statements which have become dogmas". Usually only general characteristics of the various religions, sects, religious holidays etc. are given, along with a brief explanation of their origins, but their anti-scientific nature and the harm they are doing is not revealed. Some of the lecturers are not sufficiently trained; they do not know enough about the real problems of Marxist philosophy and of natural sciences; this inevitably leads to gross misunderstandings. The scientific knowledge of the lecturers must be increased to enable them to attract growing numbers particularly among believers and to lead an untiring combat against all sorts of religious dogmatism.

Present day sermons differ considerably from the presentation of religious dogmas in former times. Therefore, it is essential to expose not only religious dogmas and their anti-scientific character, but also the attempts of churchmen and sectarians to interpret them in a modern way. The characteristics of the modern fight against religious propaganda are rooted in the fact that churchmen today are adopting new tactics. They want to give the impression that they are true friends of science; they are eager to prove that science and religion are not contradictory but are necessarily allies. These attempts to adapt science to the purpose of religious propaganda must be exposed. Believers must be informed of the newest discoveries of science which refute the whole religious conception of life. The results of modern natural sciences must be used to reveal the new tactics of religious propaganda - the new arguments used by churchmen.

One of the most reactionary, cunning champions of obscurantism today is the Vatican, which in all things supports the political attitude of leading circles in the U.S.A. Therefore all lecturers should be well versed in the history and policy of the Vatican.

In spite of its anti-scientific character, the role of Islam in the present historical situation must be recognized; under the banner of Mohammedanism, various progressive movements are gaining an increasing importance, particularly in the fight of the Arab nations, led by Egypt, for their independence.

In many Eastern countries the people's religious feelings are identical with their national aspirations. It must not be forgotton that the imperialists are trying eagerly to use Islam for their purposes in order to provoke enmity among the Mohammedan nations and thus to weaken their forces in their fight for independence. The agressive Baghdad bloc is camouflaged by the slogan "Unity of Islam". This means that lecturers must be men of deep political maturity, and of real understanding of modern social developments, in order that they may fight effectively against Islam.

Another weapon of imperialism and reaction is the Jewish religion, largely exploited by the State of Israel in order to deepen hostility between the working people of different nationalities.

A change is also taking place in anti-religious propaganda. There was a time when anti-religious lecturers concentrated mainly on criticism of the Old and New Testaments with the purpose of showing the contradictions which can be found in them. This was because in bygone times the biblical myths were crammed down one's throat in the schools of Czarist Russia. Now the most important task in fighting religion is the propagation of concrete knowledge, of materialistic conceptions of nature and society. Therefore lecturers should be chosen with the greatest caution, because they define the content and level of ideological scientific-atheistic propaganda. Teachers and professors, agricultural specialists and scientists must be recruited on a larger scale for this work.

The lecturers should adapt their conferences to their audiences, taking into account their composition, their age, their professions, as well as the nature of their religious belief. They should make their conferences as interesting, convincing and productive as possible. The themes chosen should be of broader scope and more varied. Whenever believers reconsider their old religious positions in the light of events in the USSR, they must be offered a greater variety of basic scientific proofs. If they are unable to find answers to their problems here, they will try to find them in their "Holy Books", or from church and sect leaders.

More varied forms of anti-religious work should be used, such as the organisation of special evenings for answering questions, meetings for individual and collective discussions etc. Last but not least the fight against religion and its defenders should be carried on more vigorously in the press also. The pamphlets issued by "Znanie" (Knowledge), as well as the articles published in the periodical "Life and Science" (Nauka i Jisn') in general do not reach the believers. Other periodicals, among them "Voprossy Filosofii" (Problems of Philosophy) do not give sufficient attention to atheistic propaganda.

Following this address the presidents of the scientific anti-religion sections of the Association for Propagation of Political and Scientific Knowledge of the various republics described experiments which had been tried in their areas, and stressed the necessity for adapting scientific atheistic propaganda to the specific needs of each of these republics.

The Ukrainian delegate reported that in his area discussion groups on these questions were meeting with great success, and that in many parts of the Ukraine, special seminars for scientific anti-religious research had been organised during 1956/57. In Kazakhstan these meetings are held under the name "Miracles which are not miracles". Public meetings are taking place on the same questions in Latvia. The Moldavian SSR finds itself in a special position because here a sharp fight is necessary against the anti-Soviet activity of the sect called "Jehovah's Witnesses", and other reactionary religious groups. All speakers agreed that the help given by the leading centre of the All-Union Association should be more concrete and flexible, that more atheistic literature should be issued, and that the lecturers should be more adapted to the various demands of our time.

Some pointed out that there are more believers in agricultural areas than in the cities because the influence of the cities on the villagers is still insufficient. Many stressed that the local party and komsomol organisations neglect atheist propaganda and that anti-religious education is poorly organised in the schools. One participant saw the main reason for the unsatisfactory effects of scientific anti-religious propaganda on believers in "subjective factors", although there are "objective factors" which hamper the process of gradually overcoming religious survivals drought in agricultural areas, the low level of culture in some agricultural areas, the influence of bourgeois ideology and policy and the active work of sectarians and churchmen.

Other speakers stressed that most lecturers do not know anything about the holy books, the different religions, contemporary religious literature, or the life and ideology of the churches today. A leader of the Institute for History of the Anti-religious Movement in the USSR drew attention to the serious lack of scientific research work on the history of atheism and religion; he stressed the necessity for anti-religious propaganda to make more extensive use of the achievements of contemporary science.

One speaker declared that there is no hope of improving anti-religious propaganda as long as the party organs do not revive their own activity in this field. A more diverse approach to the believers was demanded. They should not be approached as though they formed a homogeneous group. On the contrary, there must be a serious study of the "composition of believers", their particular interests and their dispositions. More attention should also be given to the forms of individual work among them. Why have priests and sectarians such success? Because they try to use the greatest possible variety of approaches to individuals.

Much attention was given to the insufficiency of anti-religious education in the schools, where reli ious prejudices still exist, not only among the pupils but also among the teachers. The State Ministries of Education do not attach sufficient importance to the problems of scientific atheistic propaganda. The Ministry of Higher Education neglects the preparation of groups of qualified atheists. The training of leaders for the work of scientific-atheistic propaganda among university students and in other schools is still lacking. Courses on atheism have not been organized in high schools and the atheistic education of the students in middle schools is completely neglected. The school programmes should be revised to give them a more definitely atheist character.

Speeches were also delivered on "The newest conceptions of the origin of life on earth", "The teaching of Prof. Pawlov as a powerful weapon in the fight against religion", "The origin and class character of Christianity and particularly of Orthodoxy as a special form of the Christian faith", "Mohammedanism today", "The social and gnostic roots of religion", "Our knowledge of the cosmos" and "The reasons why religion is still alive in the USSR".

V. "THOU SHALT NOT STEAL" .... But if you do!

(The following is a translation of passages from a text book The Moral Law According to the Gospel, - La Ley Moral Segun el Evangelico - which carries the imprimatur of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in Peru. It was published as the official textbook for the study of Ethics in the 3rd year of High School, and has been approved and adopted as the only text for all national and private schools of the Republic of Peru.)

The use of property must be regulated by the law when this is just and not opposed to the natural law, because this is necessary for common welfare and social peace. This means that under such conditions there is obligation to fulfill just and equitable contracts.

Theft - taking possession of another's property against his reasonable will is called theft.

In order that the theft constitutes a grave sin, it is necessary that the stolen property be of a serious nature, because the seventh commandment admits differentiation between serious and slight things.

It is not easy to determine the seriousness of the matter since this depends on several circumstances, according to who the thief is and according to who is the injured person.

1) An absolutely serious matter is that which even if stolen from a rich person constitutes a serious sin. The authors of books on ethics do not agree in determining this amount since it depends on the rate of exchange of the money in the world market, the region in which one lives, etc.

2) A relatively serious matter is that, the seriousness of which depends on the status of the robbed person. In general it is customary to determine the amount that the robbed person would normally spend in supporting his family for one day.

This amount (which constitutes a serious matter) varies according to the closeness of the relationship between the thief and the robbed person, since it is supposed that a near relative would take the theft less badly. In small thefts the time elapsing between one theft and another (or the next) until the robbed matter becomes serious must be taken into account. This is for the same reason as stated above. Generally under these conditions double the quantity is required.

3) Small thefts can accumulate until these constitute a serious matter : a) Because of the intention to continue thieving, b) By complicity among several thieves, each stealing small amounts, c) By the accumulation of the stolen goods, if these are stored up.

4) Theft ceases to be theft - a) When it is committed in order to satisfy some extreme need, which is that which, if not satisfied, puts life in danger. In such cases all goods are in common. b) When it is committed as occult compensation, which takes place when the creditor takes payment with the goods of the debtor without the knowledge of the latter. This is lawful, (i) if there is no doubt as to the debt, and (ii) if there is no other way of collecting the debt or if this would be very difficult. In such situations there is need to proceed with great caution, because the creditor acts as judge in his own case and it will be prudent to ask for advice.

5) Retention of goods that do not belong to one. Not only is it forbidden to take goods that do not belong to one, but also to keep such goods against the right will of its legitimate owner. Justice requires that these goods be returned to their owner.
a) The one who has the property of another is in good faith when he actually believes that these goods are his and that he may possess them. If after the time determined by the law elapses he comes to find out that the goods belonged to somebody else, prescription makes them his. If the claim is denied they must be returned to their owner as they are at present together with the improvements and material and civil fruits (i.e. the fruits of man's labour), less the expenses incurred and the value of the work involved according to the pertaining laws.

b) He who judges that the goods in question are probably not his is called an owner of doubtful faith, and is under the obligation to make inquiries and proceed accordingly. If when the inquiries are made he persists in his doubt he can resolve it in his favour in agreement with the legal principle that "possession is nine points of the law".

c) The owner is of bad faith if he knows that the property does not belong to him, and he is obliged in conscience to return them to their owner, by natural right, together with all the gains obtained and the just compensation for damages, at least for those that were in some way foreseen.

6) Restitution is returning property to its legitimate owner. The old adage appropriately says: "There is no pardon of all sin if there is not restitution of the stolen property".

The stolen thing must be restored, or its value prudently estimated together with value of the harm which the theft may have caused, at least that which was foreseeable even although this may have been seen in a confused way.

The persons involved in the theft are obliged to return the stolen thing in the following order : He that commanded the theft as well as the one responsible for the actual execution of it, are obliged to make restitution in solidum. Other accomplices are obliged to make restitution if the former do not do so, in solidum conditionally, that is to say if the other accomplices do not make the restitution that corresponds to them; first the positive accomplices and then the negative accomplices.

There is no obligation to make restitution: a) In case of physical impossibility, that is to say, when it is impossible to do so without the debtor falling into misery or from his social state; b) when the creditor freely pardons or comes to an agreement with his adversary; c) if there is ground for occult compensation; d) for prescription.